*563 184 628 325 439 476 Moslem enterprise and Chinese skill. For example, not many years ago in Tao-chou Old City, Kansu, there was an extensive industry of casting brazen pots and kettles for the Tibetan trade. The metal used was from old Chinese square-holed coin that is no longer used. This coinage was bought up and transported by small Moslem trader-muleteers and then sold to the Chinese artisans, who did the casting. The finished product was sold again to the Moslems, who took it into the Tibetan country as an article of trade. Thus, by Moslem enterprise a market was found for the product of Chinese skill, which kept the foundry fires going a good part of the year. However, this cooperative effort would be interrupted by the frequent disputes between the Moslems and the Chinese authorities. In the rural towns and urban cities the

*563 184 628 369 463 general pattern of division of occupations and vocations is that the Moslems follow the more adventurous subsidiary callings, which require more hardship and daring. Such occupations as innkeeper, trader, muleteer, carter, soldier, and the like attract proportionately more Moslems than Chinese. The Chinese, on the other hand, tend to monopolize the handicraft occupations. They make the best carpenters, silversmiths, blacksmiths, masons, and tailors. There are two exceptions to this general rule. First, Moslems prepare and make up furs, probably because the handling of sheep and lambskins was closely associated with the butchering trade which, except for pork, is Moslem. Second, the Turks in Sinkiang are good carpet weavers. "The Turkestan carpet-weavers practice a family trade, using cow or camel hair in natural and in dyed shades. The boys sit before the handloom and weave very rapidly, with no apparent pattern to follow. They are working out the conventional design which has been done by their own family for many generations, for the patterns are traditional and no one would think of varying them." The Chinese show greater aptitude, at least greater preference, for the scholarly callings; they are school teachers, accountants (even in Moslem firms) doctors, engineers, and administrative officials in the civil service.

*563 184 621 162 The cooperation or division of labor is limited exclusively to the towns and cities. In the rural communities, the Moslems and Chinese have not chosen the way of tolerant cooperation. There is practically no strictly farming village which has an equal mixture of the two groups; in every case the village is predominantly one or the other. Generally, the population is composed almost entirely of one group with only a few hangers-on of the other. In the basic occupation of the village - farming - cooperation is found (578) only among people of the same racial group. Between the Chinese and the Moslems the rivalry is of sufficient intensity to eliminate or segregate one of the parties. There are villages in which live both Chinese and Chinese Moslems although in very small number. In every case, however, the representation of the two groups is not numerically equal, but is predominantly one or the other.

*563 Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted
•463 by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon
621 of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational
578 opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

*563 The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized
621 in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chi-
184 nese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate.
[651] These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the
[361] Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit
[162] of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

*563 Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the
628 Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is
177 that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
122 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
[621]

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan work-
man of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade
also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also,
poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen
and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure
from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and
press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made.
Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village,
they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differ-
ential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly
like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount
because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture
have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the
language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders,
and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village
oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese
if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese
members of the village community forge to the front. After a
certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very
much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become
all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods
at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished
annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious
observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation
of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

*563 There is little information about social classes and land tenure
565 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
423 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities
of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of
social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China
[184] Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces
have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local
variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section
on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also become small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the Western Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

A. The Han Chinese

The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

*563 minority tribes or bandits, and lately there have been skir-
*[175] mishes between the warlords and between the Nationalists and
the Communists. These disturbances have not only deprived the
[651] people of normal livelihood but also increased their financial
burden, as they have been taxed heavily by both the government
[731] and the warlords to support the fighting armies. Moreover, the
region is susceptible to the disasters of flood and famine. The
[167] corruption in officialdom, the banditry, the armies and the dis-
asters have caused people of means to leave the region and make
• [463] their homes elsewhere. Of course there are officials and rich
merchants who have authority in political and economic matters,
but it may be said that the majority of those left behind are
small business men and poor farmers who stay on their land and
struggle for a living.

*563 It should be noted that the southeast part of Northwest China
131 is the place where Chinese civilization and culture developed and
matured. This region, around the Wei and Lo Rivers, referred
to as Kuang-chung, was the most prosperous and well-developed
part of China during many of the Imperial dynasties. According
to Communist geographical division, Kuang-chung, the area
within Shensi Province, is included in the Northwest region. It
is a region of fertile soil, where Han Chinese farmers have
made their homes for countless generations. The regions to the
north and west are populated by the Chinese Moslems, the Mon-
[441] gols and the Tibetans. As this is the case, many Han Chinese
[439] who remained in the Northwest became merchants who traveled
north to Mongolia and west to Sinkiang with their caravan trade.
There are also soldiers and prisoners who had settled here gen-
erations ago.

*563 Village dwellings are the conventional types of mud huts.
342 Some live in caves, the rich in elaborate caves with fine fur-
nishings, the very poor in caves scooped out of the porous yel-
[369] low earth cliffs. In cities and towns where the wealthy mer-
chants dwell, one of course finds the traditional big brick home
with several courtyards, as well as modern two-story houses.
But in Pao-chi, most of the people live in caves with regular
doors and windows, dug out of the cliffs.

*563 The eating habits of these people are slightly different from
262 those of the Han Chinese in other parts of China, in that more
flour than rice is consumed. Rich people have no difficulty in
[556] obtaining all the delicacies they desire. Meat, eggs, fruits,
fowl, rice, flour and vegetables are their common fare, but the
poor people can afford only barley flour, millet and salted veg-
etables for their daily diet. Tou-fu, soybean cake, is consumed
*563 by rich and poor alike. Clothing in this region resembles that
291 worn by Chinese in other parts of the country. Among nomads
and the poor, sheepskin coats are very common. They are worn
with the fur side inside.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955. Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized workships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

There are scattered reports on other industrial developments in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant, (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

5. Handicrafts.

The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

(1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760 pieces; in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

(2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

(3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper, it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

and is used mainly for wrapping. The annual output of the white flax paper is about 966,870 bundles, and that of black flax paper is 3,982,480. Part of this is exported to Szechwan, Hankow and Anhwei.

(c) The "improved" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Kansu, at the rate of some 300,000 bundles per year.

(d) The "mulberry-skin" paper. It is produced and consumed mainly in Sinkiang, at the rate of some 565,977 bundles a year.

(4) Bamboo articles. A side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Hua-hsien and Han-chung, in Shensi and Min-hsien, in Kansu. The annual output is estimated as follows: (1)farming implements, 29,280 piculs, (2) sieves, 132,300, (3) large bamboo baskets, 480,000, and (4) small bamboo baskets, 27,000.

(5) Straw hats. Also a side-line of farmers, they are made in many places, especially in Feng-hsiang, Wei-nan, Lin-tung, and Chang-an, in Shensi. The annual output in Shensi alone exceeds 1,377,900 hats.

(6) Brooms. They are made mainly in the districts near Mount Chung-nan, such as Mei-hsien and Chang-an. The annual output exceeds 800,000 brooms.

(7) Straw mats. They are produced mainly in Sui-te, Shensi, Chang-i, Kansu and Ninghsia City, Ninghsia. The annual output exceeds 3,000,000 pieces.

(8) Wooden rakes. One of the main farming implements in the Northwest, they are made mainly in Chang-an, Pu-cheng and Tung-chuan, Shensi. The annual output is about 88,000 pieces.

(9) Iron utensils. They are produced mainly in Pao-chi and Feng-hsiang in Shensi, and Tienshui in Kansu. The annual output is about 76,000 counts.

(10) Carpets. Carpet-making is one of the main handicrafts in Sinkiang. The carpets come in various sizes, up to eight by sixteen feet. The annual output exceeds 10,000 square feet. Of that quantity, some six thousand square feet is exported to India, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia and the rest is sold locally or to other provinces in the Northwest.

6. Evaluation and Prospects.

For the time being, the Communists seem to have concentrated on two things in industrializing the Northwest, one being the cotton industry in Shensi and Sinkiang, and the other being the oil industry in Kansu, Sinkiang and Chinghai. From the economic point of view, these developments are not unnatural, because Shensi and Sinkiang have been famous for their raw cotton, and the oil reserve in China is largely located in the Northwest.

While the present industrial development in the Northwest may not appear so impressive, this area will probably become